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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

The band.—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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search of timber for building, in the course of which he reached the great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, from which flowed the Rio Santa Cruz. Both on the coast and in the interior he received much friendly aid from the Indians, of whom he formed a most favourable opinion. 175

Under his brother's auspices the Rio Negro was ascended as far as the mountains of Villarino, to whose expedition reference will be made in the proper place.

No further knowledge was gained of the interior of Patagonia until the survey of the Beagle, so ably performed and so admirably described by Fitzroy and Darwin; during which the ascent of the Santa Cruz River for 200 miles enabled the latter to observe the remarkable formations which he has so aptly described in his work on the Geology of South America.

This brief but perhaps tedious account has been given to show that although the coasts of Patagonia had been explored and surveyed, yet the interior of the country, though pierced by the expeditions of Viedma and Fitzroy, remained up to a late date still almost unknown. Its inhabitants, the Tehuelches, had been often communicated with, their stature noted, and their friendly disposition commended; but their real manners of life as they wandered through the country, and their relations with, or difference from, the Araucanian and Pampa Indians, had remained almost as much a mystery as they were in the last century. 114

During the last thirty years the Governments of Chili and of Buenos Ayres have shown themselves inclined to claim the possession of the coast, the former trying to advance from the Straits, and the latter from Patagones; and the natives have acknowledged the influence of either Govern 175 177

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175 ment as they happened to be in the northen or southern
177 parts respectively. Our missionaries also have not left the Patagonians without some efforts to instruct and evangelise them; and although these efforts have been necessarily limited to the coast, yet the fruits of Mr. Schmid's sojourn with the Tehuelches remain both in their friendly feelings and in the lasting record of the vocabulary of the Tsoneca language published by him. And the intercourse of these Indians with Argentines and Chilians, and more especially with English officers, sealers, and missionaries successively, all of whom have testified favourably to their character, has tended to make them more open to access, and to give them a knowledge of foreigners; so that in this respect I can feel that to all those who have been mentioned as having thus preceded me, this brief record is due from a traveller who has experienced the friendly feelings of the natives towards strangers, and especially Englishmen.

114 While engaged in preparing the ensuing pages for the press, I have had an opportunity of perusing the work of M. Guinnard, first published in French, and recently given to the English public in a spirited translation, entitled 'Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians.' The name necessarily attracted me, but to my great surprise careful perusal led to the distinct conviction that the author's personal experiences were altogether confined to the Pampas Indians north of the Rio Negro. From his own statements and omissions it is quite evident that he was not carried by any of his successive masters across this river, which he clearly and accurately defines to be (page 40) the northern boundary of Patagonia. The name of Patagonians is, therefore, a complete misnomer; and the curious account (pp. 72, 73) of the

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'Tehéouelches,' or Foot Nomads, clothed in seal skins, and accustomed to live on fish, and literally destitute of horses, is applicable to no tribe whatever east of the Cordillera, the Fuegians being the only race presenting any of the characteristic habits attributed to this so-called Patagonian tribe.

I hope I may not be supposed to be desirous of impeaching the accuracy of M. Guinnard's account of the hardships endured in his captivity, or the customs of the Indians into whose hands he fell, much of which I can corroborate; but it is to be regretted that he was induced, probably by others, to describe under the name of Patagonians the Pampas Indians, who, by country, race, language, and character are marked as being altogether distinct from the Tehuelches of Patagonia.

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that on the third next march we should pass a deposit of yellow ore, lying to the south of the route, and that during the hunt he would show it to me. Orkeke also corroborated this statement, and I have every reason to believe that there is in that locality a deposit of iron or more probably copper ore. 135

As the meat of the slain horses was nearly consumed, we marched the following day across a most stony, rocky, and inhospitable country, and at length arrived at a range of hills, through which ran a steep, narrow gorge. Descending through its tortuous windings, we at length arrived at a spring, the waters of which, joining with another small rivulet, flowed out, and formed a sort of marsh at the head of a large plain. From the slope of the hill bordering the ravine a fine panorama extended to the east, the entire face of the country appearing to be more uniformly undulating than the confused ranges of hills, through the intricacies of which we had been marching and hunting since leaving Geylum. In the foreground were visible distant black figures, moving with swiftness across the plain in pursuit of numerous ostriches; and away to the eastward rose a column of smoke, the cause of which was eagerly speculated on. 133

I am conscious that the description of this part of the journey is not likely to give a very clear idea of the country traversed; and that the directions of the successive ranges, and the general character of the ground, are left too much to the reader's imagination; but, in deprecation of criticism and censure, it is pleaded that I was under the impression that this district had been traversed, and accurately surveyed and described, by a *savant* employed by the Argentine Government; and that I was deprived of the assistance of my compass, which had been presented to Foyel. The notes taken at the time were very scanty, and my recollections were confused, inasmuch as I was labouring under a constantly-recurring attack of sickness, which was only kept at bay by resolute endeavours not to give way; but which ren- 114

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dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's steed in order to have the field clear for himself.

We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange paroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

The distant signal smoke was concluded to indicate the presence of Jackechan and the Pampa Indians under Teneforo, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of chalcedony and projecting rocks resembling alabaster, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

The mutiny of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

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000 factory, they look upon him as a fetich, and receive him well accordingly; but on the contrary, should a dearth occur, then the traveller had better make his escape as quickly as possible, as in all probability he would be severely handled.

After a death, it is the custom for all the friends of the deceased to gather together and dance over the grave, at which times they mourn, yell, and drink. The latter they always do at their own expense, as each mourner brings his own beer or rum with him. These festivities usually continue for eight days, during which time they generally make great disturbances, which not unfrequently end in bloodshed.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. BARRINGTON D'ALMEIDA remarked, with regard to the palm-beer drank by the Quissama tribe of Angola, that the natives of Ceylon, and those of the Malayan Archipelago, were also in the habit of drinking a palm-beer, but this was drawn from the cocoa-nut tree. The stem-bearing portion of the tree being lopped off that part of it in which the cocoa-nuts were suspended, was bent downwards, in the shape of a curve or a bow, at the end of which an earthen or wooden vessel was attached to receive the juice. It has an agreeable taste, and forms a very pleasant beverage. It is known amongst the Malays as the "neeroo manis", or sweet juice. When it is allowed to ferment, it is called "toddy"; and, taken immoderately, has an intoxicating effect. Cocoa-nut vinegar is sometimes made from this liquor.

Dr. CARTER BLAKE saw nothing to impeach the accuracy of Mr. Hamilton's observations respecting the intoxicating fluid, inasmuch as the Indians of Nicaragua extracted a somewhat similar liquid from one of the indigenous trees (*Acrocomia vinifera*, *Œrst.*), and which was undoubtedly inebriating the instant it was tapped from the tree, without any time being given for fermentation.

Dr. CHARNOCK said the author of the paper spoke of the cannibals which he had come across as having a squalid and unhealthy exterior. It was probable that this might be attributed rather to the circumstances in which they were placed than to the eating of human flesh. It had never been proved that there was any appreciable difference between the flesh of man and that of other animals. It seemed to agree very well with those who indulged in it, for they were generally vigorous and robust people.

The following paper was then read:

● 114 *On the* RACES *of* PATAGONIA. By Lieutenant MUSTERS, R.N.

In this paper it is proposed to give the members of the Anthropological Institute a brief sketch of the manners and customs of the tribes which inhabit the tract of country commonly known as Patagonia, as a residence of twelve months, during which I traversed the entire length of the country, afforded me an oppor-

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114 tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

131 The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is 133 an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless [136] herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

101 The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamonascunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Ahonicanka, or Tchonek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.